



76: By myles cooper the Human Bradlowy thandles variant aller up has ang E

American Querift:

THE

30

Machana

SOME QUESTIONS PROPOSED

ÓR.

RELATIVE TO

THE PRESENT DISPUTES

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN,

AND HER

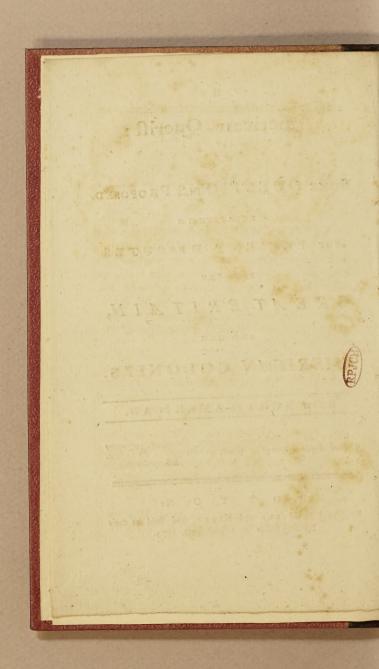
AMERICAN COLONIES.

BY a NORTH-AMERICAN.

We are not to think every clamorous Haranguer, or every folenetie Repiner against a Court, is therefore a PATRIOT. Bishop Berkley.

BOSTON:

Re-printed by MILLS and HICKS, and Sold at their Printing-Office in School-ftreet, 1774.



THE

AMERICAN QUERIST.

1. WHETHER Americans have not a right to fpeak their fentiments on fubjects of government; and whether all attempts to check and difcourage freedom of fpeech, any farther than to prevent the licentious abufes of it, are not to be confidered as unwarrantable ufurpations, tending to introduce and eftablifh a bondage of the worft kind ?

2. Whether Americans have not an equal right to express their fentiments, when they happen to differ from, as when they happen to correspond with, the *popular* opinion?

3. Whether I differ more from another, than he differs from me; and, confequently, whether he has a better right to abufe me for a difference of fentiment, than I have to abufe him ?

my have gat a flog to their their

4. Whether

OHN CHRIER BROWN

4. Whether bigotry be not naturally productive of intolerance, and whether bigotry and intolerance in *politics* be not as abfurd in reason, as mean in their nature, and as deftructive to fociety, as bigotry and intolerance in matters of religion ?

5. Whether there can be a greater proof of bigotry, either in religion or politics, than an obfinate refolution to hear or fee nothing that is offered on the fubject in queftion, by perfons who are fuppofed to be of different fentiments ?

6. Whether fuch a refolution be not alfo a proof, that a man is *confcious* of the *weaknefs* of his caufe, and *afraid* of the force of those arguments which may be offered againft him ?

7. With regard to the prefent difputes between the Britifb American colonies and their mother country, whether there be not many of the colonist, who, by refusing to hear or fee what is offered on the fide of government,* betray the abovementioned confcioufnefs and fear ?

8. Whether

⁹ It is faid that many perfons, and fome who hold places of troft under government, have put a ftop to their Neurpapers, not because the advocates for the colonies are not allowed 8. Whether political bodies do not refemble animal bodies in many refpects; and whether, when they are difordered, the fame regimen and management which are needful for one, may not be proper for the other, in fimilar cafes ?

9. Whether the American colonies do not confider themfelves as composing one diftinct political body *; and whether this body does not appear at this time to be deeply difordered ?

10. Whether the diforder of the colonies, to fpeak in language taken from animal bodies, be not of the *feverifk* kind, as it is attended with an irregular, high pulfe, and difcovers, in fome parts, a dangerous fwelling and inflammation; and whether it has not been occafioned, in a great meafure, by their own *imprudence* and *intemperance*?

11. Whether heating dofes do not, in all cafes, tend to increase a fever; and whether inflammatory publications and harangues

allowed fair play by the *printer*, but becaufe those who are difposed to think more favourably of the administration than some of their neighbours, are allowed to speak.

* "They form one political body, of which each colony is a member."

Pennfylvapia Farmer's Letters.

rangues be not fo many heating doles, with regard to political bodies ?

(6)

12. Whether, in inveftigating the nature and caufe of diforders, and in fixing upon a method of cure, we ought not to have recourfe to plain facts, and to general and eftablifhed principles, inftead of being governed by the advice, and relying upon the opinions of notorious quacks and empiricks, who have an interest in deceiving us?

13. Whether fome degree of refpect be not always due from inferiors to fuperiors, and efpecially from children to parents; and whether the refufal of this on any occafion, be not a violation of the general laws of fociety, to fay nothing here of the obligations of religion and morality ?

14. Whether what conflitutes right conduct among men, does not conflitute right conduct among focieties, or bodies of men, with regard to one another; and whether the latter can be lefs criminal, or their conduct lefs difgufting and flocking to the genuine feelings of the moral fenfe, when they tranfgrefs the common rule of duty, than the former ?

(7)

15. Whether Great-Britain bears not a relation to these colonies, fimilar to that of a parent to children; and whether any parent can put up with such distribution distribution and abusive treatment from children, as Great-Britain has lately received from her colonies ?

16. Whether all true friends to the colonies, with whatever zeal they may think themfelves bound to affert and fupport their claim, ought not, from a regard both to duty and fafety, on every proper occafion, to express their difapprobation of a behaviour, which is indecent and shameful in itfelf, and which has brought upon the Amevicans the indignation of a power, which the proudest nation in Europe reveres, and under whose refentments the strongest would tremble ?

17. Whether it be a mark either of wifdom or candour to believe, declare, or infinuate, that *Great-Britain* has acted altogether from wrong motives, and the colonies altogether from right ones ?

18. Whether there can be any medium between being fubjects and not fubjects; and whether, if the Americans be not British fubjects fubjects, they are not, with regard to Great-Britain, aliens and foreigners ?

19. Whether, if the colonies be a part of the great British community, they are not neceffarily subject in all cases, to the jurisdiction of that legislative power which represents this community, or, in other words, to the British parliament ?

20. Whether the fupreme legislative authority of every nation does not neceffarily extend to all the dominions of that nation ; and whether any place, to which this authority does not extend, can justly be faid to be a part of its dominions ?

21. Whether, in confequence of a general grant, particular claims, founded upon partial conftructions and remote inferences, which are contrary to the apparent intereft and defign of the granter, can be valid, either in law or in equity ?

22. Whether any direct evidence has hitherto appeared in favour of the exemption for which the colonies contend; and whether it does not concern the managers of their caufe, previoufly to any other fleps; to produce *fuch* evidence in fupport of their claim ?

(9)

23. Whether there be any proof or probability, that, when the first grants of land in America were made by the British crown to British subjects, it was intended by the former, or understood by the latter, that they were to be no longer subject to the fupreme legislative authority of the British nation ?

24. Whether, fuppoing this to have been really intended, it was in the power of the crown to alienate any part of its dominions, without the advice and confent of parliament ?

25. Whether the above fuppolition does not imply, that the executive power is able at pleafure, to annul, alter, or reftrain the legiflative power, which is the greatest abfurdity ?

26. Whether the exemption contended for be not inconfiltent with the nature of dependent colonies, and compatible only with the idea of independent flates ?

27. Whether a right in the colonies to choofe which laws of *Great-Britain* they will obey, and which they will difobey, would leave any obligation to obedience at all ?

B' 28. Whether,

28. Whether, in fuch a cafe, the Americans, being not English fubjects, can claim the protection of the English laws, or talk of their rights *as Englishmen*, with any propriety ?

29. Whether there has ever been a time, fince the fettlement of the colonies, in which the nation appears to have thought, that it had not a full and compleat right of jurifdiction over them, notwithftanding the privileges granted them by charter ?

30. Whether there has ever been a time, in which the colonies appear to have thought, that the nation had not a full and compleat right of jurifdiction over them, till about the year 1764 ?

31. Whether more was expressly granted or meant to be granted, by charter to any of the colonies, than authority for regulating respectively their own *police*; and whether fuch an authority, granted for the purpole of internal regulation and government, can be fairly construed to exempt any fociety, or incorporated body whatever, from the fupreme legislative power of that nation, to which it belongs ?

32. Whether, on the contrary, obedience

(10)

to the laws of *Great-Britain*, without any refiriction or exception, was not clearly obferved in all the charters granted to the colonies; and particularly, whether the *right* of parliament to lay taxes, was not expressly and literally observed in the charter of *Pennfylvania*?

(11)

33. Whether therefore the *Pennfylvanians* ought not now to be out of the queffion, as they can have no plaufible pretence for urging a claim, from which they have been precluded by their own former flipulation ?

24. Whether the first charter which was granted, for the purpose of colonization, by the crown of England in 1606, and the fecond, which was granted three years afterwards, did not fubject the two Virginia companies to laws made by a council of the proprietors refiding in England, first nominated by the crown, and afterwards to be elected by the proprietors refiding in England; and whether the fame charters did not provide, that even the King might tax all the inhabitants within the grant, by his fole prerogative, without confulting his parliament, and appropriate the monies, thus raifed by taxes, for the use and benefit of the crown only ?

35. Whether the territory granted upon these terms did not extend from latitude 34 to latitute 45, and include all the country lying between *Carolina* and *Nova-Scotia*, and confequently the present *New-England* colonies; the inhabitants of which originally settled under the very charters above-mentioned, after having purchased from one of those companies ?

(12)

36. Whether the Maffachufetts company had authority, under their first charter, to affess or tax the inhabitants for any purposes whatever; and whether their having levied money of the inhabitants was not alledged in the writ of fcire facias issued against their charter, in the reign of Charles the second, as an act of notorious delinquency, upon which, judgment was given against them in the court of King's-Bench, and the charter vacated ?

37. Whether, in the new charter, which was granted them by William and Mary, and under which they have been governed to the prefent year, the power of levying taxes is not reftrained altogether to provincial and local purpofes, and allowed to be exercifed over fuch only as are inhabitants and proprietors in the province, fo that the Englifh traders traders and their goods, which may happen to be in any of the ports of the province, are entirely exempted from this authority ?

(13)

38. Whether the whole tenor of this charter does not operate against the claim that is made by the people of the Massachuset against the claim the state of the s

39. Whether the charter granted to Lord Baltimore, in 1632, did not expreffly provide, that the inhabitants of Maryland, for the future, flould be feparated from Virginia, and not dependent upon the government of that, or any other colony; BUT, that they flould be fubject immediately to the CROWN of England, as depending thereof forever ?

40. Whether the charters granted by Charles the Second, to the inhabitants of Connecticut and Rhode-Ifland, are more than bare charters of incorporation, erecting them refpectively into corporate bodies, and empowering them to perform corporate acts, in the fame manner, fay the charters, " as other our liege people of this our " realm of England, or any other corpora-" tion, "tion, or body politic, within the fame;" neceffarily implying, that they were thought to be within the realm of *England*, and fubject in all cafes, to the fupreme authority of the realm ?

41. Whether the charter of *Carolina*, granted in the fame reign, did not fully declare the like dependency of the inhabitants, in the following words : " Our will " and pleafure is, that they be fubject im-" mediately to our crown of *England*, as " depending thereof forever; and that the " inhabitants fhall not, at any time, be " liable to anfwer to any matter out of our " faid province, other than in our realm " of *England*, and dominion of *Wales*?

42. Whether fubjection to the Grown of England ever meant, in public inftruments, fubjection only to him who held the crown of England, in his private or perfonal capacity; and whether the laws do not always mean, by the authority of the crown, the fupreme authority of the nation, reprefented by the crown ?

43. Whether the use of the great seal of England, in ratifying the grants abovementioned, does not prove that, in each instance, inftance, the whole affair, on one fide, was a public transaction, and in behalf of the nation, and that the fubjection, or dependency expressly referved, was to be of the fame extent with the authority that required it ?

(15)

44. Whether it does not appear from acts that have been made in every reign, fince the founding of the colonies, that it was the fenfe of Parliament, that its authority over the *American* plantations was as full and unlimited, as over any other part of his Majefty's dominions ?

45. Whether the preamble to an act of the parliament, in 1650, although the act itfelf was unconflictutional and invalid, did not express the opinion of the wifeft men in the mation, and even of the fons of liberty, at that time, with regard to the point in queftion, when it declared, concerning the colonies and plantations in America, that they had "ever fince the planting there-" of, been, and ought to be, fubject to " fuch laws, orders and regulations, as are " or fhall be made by the parliament of " England?

46. Whether the following acts viz. of the 12th, 15th, and 25th of Charles II. -- of

of the 7th and 8th of William and Mary, and more particularly an act paffed the fame year, entitled, " An act for preventing " frauds, and regulating abufes in the plan-" tations," and an act of the 11th, of the " fame reign," for the trial of pirates in America, an act of the 9th of Queen Ann, for eftablishing the post-office in order that * her Majesty may be Jupplied, and the re-" venue arising by the faid office better im-" proved, settled and secured to her Majesty. " her heirs and fuccefors"--- and the feveral acts made in the late reign, relating to the manufacturing of hats, the naturalization of foreigners, and rendering lands in America affets, &c. I fay, whether fuch a fucceffion of fuch acts does not afford compleat evidence, that the parliament has always claimed, and exercifed, an unlimited jurifdiction over the colonies, whenever the occafion was thought to require it ?

47. Whether in the late reign, when the affembly of *Jamaica* withheld the ufual grants for the fupport of government in that ifland, and the ministry defired the opinion of those two eminent lawyers, Sir, *Clement Wearg*, and Sir *Philip York*, then attorney and folicitor general, on this point, whether the King, or his privy council,

(17)

council, had not a right to levy upon the inhabitants the taxes that were wanted; they did not reply in the following words: "That if Jamaica was ftill to be confider-"ed as a conquered ifland, the King had "fuch a right; but if it was confidered "in the fame light with the other colonies, "no tax could be imposed on the inhabi-"tants, but by the affembly of the ifland, "or by act of parliament."?

48. Whether the right of parliament to impose taxes upon the colonies, which appears to have never been questioned in England, was not generally admitted in the colonies, and the exercise of it thought expedient and neceffary so very lately as in 1755 ?

49. Whether the congress at Albany in that year, confifting of gentlemen of the first character from most of the colonies, did not approve of, and agree to, the proposal of general Shirley, that " application " should be made to parliament, to empow-" er the committees of the feveral colonies " to tax them," in proportion to their re-" spective abilities, in order to raife a ge-" neral fund for the common defence ?"

C

50. Whether, when Mr. Shirley's plan, including this propofal, was laid before the affembly of New-York, it was not refolved by that houfe, after a proper difcuffion of all the particulars, "That the fcheme pro-"pofed by governor Shirley, for the de-"fence of the Britiscolonies in North-"America, is well concerted, and that "this colony joins therein ?"

51. Whether it could have been the opinion of general *Shirley*, or of the gentlemen at the congress, or of the house of affembly in *New-York*, that the parliament could delegate a power to others, with which they were not vested themselves ?

52. Whether it has not been a ftanding maxim with our judges and lawyers, however fome of them may have departed from it lately, that the original fettlers of the colonies brought over with them the laws of *England* that were then in force, from which they were not releafed by any fubfequent charters; and that all acts of parliament that have paffed fince that period, in which the defign of extending them to the colonies is expreffed, have, and ought to have, the force and obligation of laws upon the colonies in general ?

(19)

53. Whether the utmost claim of the colonies, at the time of the late *flamp-act*, was more than an exemption from the authority of parliament, as far as it related to *internal taxation*, for the purpose of a revenue?

54. Whether it was not then allowed by the public advocates for *American* liberty, that the parliament had a right to regulate the trade of the colonies, and to lay duties both on their imports and exports *?

55. Whether

* The very refpectable author of a leading pamphlet in those times, entitled, Confiderations on the propriety of imposing taxes, &c. declares his opinion in the following words. " The fubordination of the colonies, and the au-" thority of the parliament to preferve it, have been fully " acknowledged. Not only the welfare, but perhaps the " exiftence of the mother country, as an independent king-" dom, may depend upon her trade and navigation, and " these (may depend) so far upon her intercourse with the " colonies, that, if it should be neglected, there would " foon be an end to that commerce, whence her greatest " wealth is derived, and upon which her maritime " power is principally founded. From these confidera-" tions, the right of the British parliament, to regulate " the trade of the colonies, may be juftly deduced ; a de-" nial of it would contradict the admiffion of the fubordi-" nation, and of the authority to preferve it, refulting from " the nature of the relation between the mother-country " and her colonies. It is a common, and frequently the " most proper method to regulate trade by duties on imports and " exports. The authority of the mother-country to regu-" late the trade of the colonies being unquefliogable, what " regulations 55. Whether the parliament, receding from, but not meaning to give up, the right of taxation, did not then meet the colonies upon their own ground, exercifing no more than the right that had been admitted, of regulating their trade, and impofing duties upon a few of their own exports to the colonies ?

56. Whether

** regulations are most proper, are to be of course fub-** mitted to the determination of the parliament; and ** if an *incidental revenue* should be produced by fuch regu-** lations, these are not therefore unwarrantable.

"A right to impose an internal tax on the colonics, without their confent, for the fingle purpole of a revenue, is denied; a right to regulate their trade, without their "confent, is admitted. The imposition of a duty may, in some inflances, be the proper regulation. If the claims of the mother-country and the colonies should feem on such an occasion to interfere, and the point of right to be doubtful (which I take to be otherwise) it is easy to guess that the determination will be on the fide of powter, and that the inferior will be confirmed to submit."

The worthy author of the Pennfslvania Farmer's Letters, fays, "The parliament unquellionably polfeft a legal au-"tobrity to regulate the trade of Great-Britain and all her colonies: Such an authority is effential to the relation be-"tween a mother-country and her colonies, and neceffary "for the common good of all. He who confiders their provinces, as flates diffinal from the Britiff empire, has "very flender notions of juffice, or of their interefts: We are but parts of a whole, and therefore there muff exiff a power fomewhere to prefide and preferve the connection in the due order; this power is lodged in the PARLIAMENT."

(21)

56. Whether a regard to decency and confiftency ought not to have produced in the *Americans* a quiet and peacable fubmiffion to an act, which was framed on the very principles that had been fo lately eftablifhed, in behalf of the colonies ?— But,

57. Whether the colonies did not then introduce a new diffinction, to take off the force of their former conceffions, contending that duties laid upon the *neceffaries* of life, fuch as paper, glafs and paint (which, by the way, can be called neceffaries only by a violent *hyperbole*) were equivalent to an internal tax, and therefore inadmiffible ?

58. Whether the parliament, in farther compliance with this diffinction, did not then withdraw the duties they had laid upon *fuch* neceffaries, referving only, as a mark of their authority to impofe taxes, a fmall duty of three pence per pound, upon an article of fheer luxury, which can never be materially ufeful to any of the colonies, and which has been very hurtful to all of them, occafioning fuch an expensive manner of living as the inhabitants in general are unable to afford ?

59. Whether the opposition now made to this trifling duty, upon a hurtful luxury, is not as general, as vigorous, as clamorous, and as injurious to private property, and the alarm of danger to our conflitutional rights, founded with as much vehemence and vociferation, as in the time of the ftamp-act?

60. Whether the facts here alluded to, following one another in fo clofe a fucceffion, do not amount to a clear proof, that every indulgence or conceffion granted to the colonies operates against the authority of parliament, as for every inch given from a principle of generofity, an ell is demanded as matter of right; and whether the inference be not natural, that nothing lefs will fatisfy the colonies, than an abfolute renunciation of all claim of authority or jurifdiction, in the Britif parliament ?

61. Whether the maxim, that Engliftmen are bound by no laws but fuch as they confent to, either perfonally or by their reprefentatives, has not been großly mifunderstood by our American patriots, and very abfurd inferences been drawn from it ?

(23)

62. Whether the English conflictution does not make the king and parliament the reprefentatives of all the people within the kingdom, whether they be actual electors or non-electors ?

63. Whether a great part of the people in *England* can be faid to give their confent to the laws that are made, by any other reprefentatives than these ?

64. Whether perfons who have a right to vote in the election for members of parliament, are not often bound by laws, to which they confent in no fhape, except as above-mentioned; they not approving of the laws; and even the members for the county or borough in which they voted, oppofing and protefling againft the laws at the time of making them ?

65. Whether, for inflance, a duty has not been laid upon hops, and an excite upon cyder, when the hop-growers, and the makers of cyder, and their friends in parliament, have ufed their utmost influence to prevent the passing of the law?

66. Whether, therefore, the confent given by them to the law, was not a confent without their approbation or liking; and and whether fuch a confent, which is the only one given by many *Engliftmen*, be the privilege for which the colonies contend ?

(24)

67. Whether therefore the maxim, that *Englishmen* are bound only by laws to which they confent, can be true, otherwife than of the nation *collectively*, or the body of the people, while great numbers of them are forced to fubmit to many laws with reluctance ?

63. Whether, if it were allowed to the colonies to fend members to parliament of their own choosing, they would accept of the offer ?

69. Whether, while they would refufeto fend members to parliament, they have any right to exclaim against acts of parliament, on account of their having no members in parliament to represent them diftinctly ?

70. Whether the privileges enjoyed by virtue of the *Englifh* conflitution of government are not *political* privileges; and whether the *natural* right of the *Americans* can entitle them to the political privileges of *Englifhmen*,

(25)

Englishmen, any more than to the political privileges of Dutchmen *?

21. Whether upon a review of the arguments that have been ufed in favour of the colonies, it be reafonable to expect that the *Britifb* parliament will be convinced by them; or that, without conviction, after their right to govern, and regulate the trade of the colonies; has been fo indecently queftioned and denied, they will not affert it in fuch a way, as fhall be thought most expedient and effectual.

72. Whether an effectual fupport of the authority of parliament, after fuch a denial of it, can be fuppofed to have fo light

* This query is occafioned by the refelves of fome of our former affemblies, and of fome of our late county-committees, and by an Englift pamphlet, lately re-printed in New-York, entitled, Confiderations on the meafures carrying on with reffect to the British colonies in America. The author of the pamphlet, who writes altogether ad populum, founds the claim of the Americans, first, upon the natural rights of mankind; fecondly, upon the Englift confitution; and; thirdly, upon the provincial charters. He offers not much in support of the first of the fe points, becaufe the position would not admit of much to be faid in its favour; he fays but very little in support of the fecond, becaufe he has more refficient for those able perfons who have handled the fubject before him, than to go over it again fo much to it difadvantage; and he fays nothing at all upon the third, becaufe he very judiciously thinks it beft, to leave the particulars of this fubject to themfelves (the Americans) who are beft acquainted with them; an effect upon the property of Americans, as the finall duty upon tea, if quictly fubmitted to, neceffarily would have ?

(26)

73. Whether therefore those patriotic gentlemen, and patriotic labourers and mechanicks, who have urged on a greater evil, in order to avoid a lefs, are in reality, whatever they may have intended, friends to their country ?

74. Whether interefted, defigning men, ---or men who court popularity as the great Sultana of their affections---or ignorant men, bred to the loweft occupations, who have no knowledge of the general principles upon which civil fociety fhould be always eftablifhed---are any of them qualified for the direction of political affairs, or ought to be trufted with it ?

75. Whether the old rule, Ne futor ultar crepidam, be not a good rule and proper for this day ?

76. Whether the colonies, in a great meafure, have not, for ten years palt, been under an iniquitous and tyranical government, namely, the government of unprincipled mobs; and whether experience has not yet convinced us, that this mode of governing a country is most detestable ?

77. Whether the fons of liberty have ever willingly allowed to others the liberty of thinking and acting for themfelves; and whether any other liberty than that of doing as they shall direct, is to be expected during their administration ?

(27)

78. Whether it would not be fafer, both to our liberty and property, to be under the authority of the British parliament, and fubject to all those duties and taxes which they might think fit to impose, than to be under the government of the American fons of Liberty, without paying any duties or taxes at all ?

79. Whether the unavailing opposition that has been made to parliament, has not, fince the commencement of the prefert year, been a greater expense to the Americans, if we allow for the neglect of butinefs, and extraordinary tavern expenses, than all the duties with which the parliament would probably charge us, would amount to in fifty years ?

80. Whether if the British parliament fhould only leave us to ourfelves, as fome wife perfons have ferioufly advifed; or if we, were able to compel them to fubmit to our, own terms, which no wife perfon can imagine shat we are; either event would not be as great a calacalamity to the colonies, in its natural confequences, as the peftilence or a famine ?

(28)

81. Whether, without the fuperintending authority of *Great-Britain* to reftrain theni, the colonies would not probably be foon at war among themfelves; and whether without the fame authority to protect them, they would not probably foon become a prey to fome foreign power.

82. Whether, if the connexion of the colonies with *Great-Britain* were diffolved, they must not immediately put themselves under the protection of fome maritime power, lefs able to defend them, and lefs disposed to indulge their froward and petulant humour ?

83. Whether, in fuch a cafe, they would not be obliged to pay dearly for the protection afforded to their fhips abroad, or to their fea-ports at home; and whether this would not be a much heavier burden, than that of the duties that have been demanded by the British parliament?

84. Whether there can be any profpect of peace or fafety to the colonies, while they are under the difpleafure, and exposed to the refertment of *Great-Britain*?

85. Whether therefore the reconciliation of

of Great-Britain to her colonies be not a matter of capital and fupreme importance, to promote which, every American is bound, in duty to his country; and as he values the peace of Jerusalem, to contribute his beft wilhes, prayers and endeavours?

(29)

86. Whether every thing that tends to obstruct fo defirable an event, ought not to be conficiencioufly avoided, and treated with abhorrence ?

87. Whether Great-Britain can be fuppofed at prefent to be in fuch a condition, or of fuch a temper, as patiently to put up with our bullying and abufive language, to fubmit to our reproaches, or to be intimidated with our threatenings?

88. Whether on the other hand, the continuance of fuch provocations will not neceffarily increase the indignation of a power that is irrefiftable by us, and render an accommodation impracticable, but upon terms the most humiliating to the colonies ?

89. Whether the feveral colonies, by having chosen delegates to represent them at the congress, have not taken the matter in dispute out of the hands of the people; and whether those, who, notwithstanding, still endeavour farther to inflame the paspaffions * of the populace, already intoxicated with a few magical founds, are notto be confidered and treated as incendiaries, fcattering abroad the firebrands of faction, in order to bring on the conflagration of their country ?

(30)

90. Whether what is farther to be offered on the fubject in difpate, fhould not be addreffed to the gentlemen of the Congre/s, who are entrufted with, and anfwerable, in no finall degree, both in this world and the next, for THE FATE OF THE COLONIES; and whether, in that cafe, if we mean not to affront them, cool and impartial reprefentations and reafonings ought not to characterife our future political productions ?

91. Whether full confidence ought not to

* As a specimen of the language with which the minds of the deluded Americans are poifoned againft the government, by some of our weekly news-papers, the following paffage is felected from HOLT's paper of August 18:

"We are affured that Captain William Bull, in a floop from this place, but laft from the Weit-Indies, is arrived at Wilmington, North-Carolina, and that the inhabitants of that place have bought his veffel, and are loading her with provisions for the fupport of the town of Bolton; which ought to be fupported at the expence of the laft mite, and even the laft drop of blood in North-America, for their noble ftand againft the opprefilon and tyranny of a miferable, corrupt, debauched, and almost bankrumpt administration, devoid of fense, humanity, and every principle fuperior to that of meer brutes; an admiftration, compared with whom a common highway robber is almost a faint." to be reposed in the wisdom, the prudence, and patriotic spirit of our representatives at the congress, who are generally men of property, and have much more to risque than most of their conflituents ?

(31)

92. Whether it be not time for our farmers and mechanicks, and labourers, to return to their bufinefs, and the care of their families; and all ferious Christians, to a fense of their duty ?

93. Whether it does not become us to employ the prefent interval of reflexion, in examining, how far the principles that have been propagated amongit us are conformable to reafon, and productive of good or evil to fociety; and whether, in reality, they deferve to be countenanced or difcouraged ?

94. Whether it would be amifs, at the fame time, to confider, how far the Supreme Governor of the world, from whofe jurifdiction no refolves of town-meetings can exempt us, may be fuppofed, from the declarations he has made, to approve of our conduct ?

95. Whether the profperity of flates, and of all public focieties, does not depend upon his bleffing ; and whether his bleffing is to be otherwife expected, than in the way of conformity to his precepts ?

96. Whether he has given any difpenfation to the body of the people, under any government, to refufe honor, or cuftom, or tribute, to whom they are due; to contract habits of thinking and fpeaking evil of dignities, and to weaken the natural principle of refpect for those in authority ?

(32)

-36195-

97. Whether; on the contrary, he doesnot command us to *fubmit to every ordinance* of man for the Lord's *fake*; and require us, on pain of *damnation*, to be duly *fubject to the higher powers*, and not to refift their lawful authority ?

98. Whether, if it fhould finally appear, that the claim of the British parliament is just, and according to law, it be not a necef-fary confequence, that the colonies have re-fifted that power, which is ordained of God, and are in the high road to open rebellion ?

99. Whether those, who on the present occasion, so zealously proclaim their attachment to *revolution principles*, give not too much reason to expect, that they are fond of revolutions ? But after all,

100. Whether it be not a matter both of worldly wifdom, and of indifpenfable Chriftian duty, in every American, to fear the Lord and the King, and to meddle not with them that are GIVEN TO CHANGE ?

I N I S

S.

